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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE SUBSIDIARY GROUPS

621 The group called *Peripheral to the Core* is rather heterogeneous, and it is not internally unified. It includes three house servants, one of whom is a Druze, another a Maronite, while the religion of the third was not ascertained. Each of the labourers in the village has a professional helper and both of these men are included in the Peripheral Group. One is a Maronite from Jbeil, and he is the brother of the husband of a member of one of the Affiliate Families of the Core Group. The other is a Sunni Muslim who has his wife and one small child with him in the village.

These members of the Peripheral Group are outsiders to the village in terms of religion and local origin. There is only one affinal tie with the Core Group, and it is with a family whose Core Group status is marginal.

The remaining seven members of the Peripheral Group consist of a single nuclear family, parents and five children. This group is Greek Orthodox in religion, and it came from Syria about five years previous to the study. The father does agricultural wage labor. Between this family and the Core Group there is no religious barrier, but it is not a part of the Core Group because of its immediate outside origin and because it has no kinship or marriage connections with the Core Group. Its very presence in the village was discovered only after the period of study had been under way for some time, and explanations were supplied by Core Group informants only in response to questions put by the investigator.

621 231 289 543 The B'nayeen are all Maronites (Lebanese Roman Catholics). They are sheep and goat herders who regularly drive their flocks down to Mamjid every October from the two high villages of which they are members, which are buried in snow all winter. They return to the high slopes in April. They are all united by their religion, and each village group is particularly cohesive because it is a village group and because of kinship and marriage ties. From the village of Jaaj there are three residence units: (1) a nuclear family consisting of father, mother, one son, and two daughters; (2) an adult, single man and his mother; (3) a brother of this single man, his wife, five sons and three daughters. From the village Ehmij there are, first of all, two independent nuclear families. One of these (parents, one son, and two daughters) lives in the village proper; the other (parents and several children) lives at 'Ayqa. Also from Ehmij is a family which is headed by two adult brothers and a known, as a group, by the name of their father. One brother lives in the village proper with his wife and, sometimes, two sons and their wives. The other brother lives at Hbeir with his wife and several children. It was stated that the members of this family are *shirkeyn* (partners), that is to say, the property of the brothers is not divided and they pool their resources.

621 643 The *Mawali* (designation of the Lebanese Shi'a Muslims) consist of three house-

of the Wiremen and the Mirvil as groups. The Wiremen are tradesmen, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thesiger, 1936, pp. 156-57). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter patronage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The Beds furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mirvil are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mirvil as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a percentage rent to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this rent is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group rendered getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mirvil, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the kilns or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one economic dominant over another. The critical factor is simply the relative degree of economic superiority and local establishment which exists in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munsif is simply one localized example of the operation of Core's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in all social relationships in the village is equalitarian, emotional, to be sure, with the various hostilities which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the liveliness of the streets in cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps discreetly, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

were classified into the six categories in the headquarters office. It would be interesting to find out the reasons why they stay in Beirut. It is presumed that the fourth category, namely, they like it better, would be a relatively high category, considering the well-known attractions of metropolitan living as compared to rural living in other countries.

3.411 Distribution of summer migrations to villages, Table 72

One of the best known phenomena of residents in Beirut is the tendency on the part of those who can afford it to return to the villages during the summer months, particularly mountain villages.

It may be seen in the Table that about one-third of the sample return to villages during the summer. It would be interesting for further study to find out what proportion returns to escape the heat of the coast and what proportion returns for economic reasons, either to reap the benefit of the summer harvest or to engage in service occupations for the summer vacationists.

3.412 Month of migrations to villages, Table 73

Those who do return to the village in the summer were asked what month they usually returned. It may be seen from the table that the exodus gets under way to the tune of one-third

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• See Table 72 — Reasons for moving to Beirut.

•• See Tab'e 73 — Summer migration to village.

of the sample in June, and rises to a peak with about one-half of the sample in July, with the rest, who are unable to make it earlier, leaving in August.

5.63 Month of return to Beirut from village. Table 74

As the Beirutis go early, so they return late to Beirut from the village. About four-fifths of the sample returned to the pleasant fall climate in October. City institutions are geared to this return. For example, the schools do not open until October. A few, fifteen percent, returned in September - probably as late as possible in the month, while only a fraction, four percent, returned in July or August.

5.7 Place of residence considered home. Table 75

Overwhelmingly Beiruti residents considered their home to be in Beirut. This result is particularly surprising in view of the well-known verbal tendencies of Beirutis to identify themselves with their village of origin. Evidently this feeling for the village is more verbal than actual, a conclusion which, however, is in accordance with the attractions of cities as noted in other places.* Other indications, however, are that the village is still highly attractive, especially in the summer.** Perhaps the safest conclusion would be that the Beirutis are schizo-home.

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Table 73

Incidence of Seasonal Migration to Village

Migration	Number	Percent	Sig.
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No response	[illegible]	[illegible]	

Table 74

Month of Migration to Village

Name of month	Number	Percent	Sig.
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
July	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
August	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No response	[illegible]	[illegible]	

[illegible]

Table 74

Month of Return to Beirut from Village

Name of month	Frequency	Percent
Total	634	100.00
July	3	0.47
August	23	3.63
September	94	14.83
October	503	79.34
No answer	11	1.73

Table 75

Place of Residence Considered Home by Head of Household

Location	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1859	100.00	
Beirut	1554	83.60	.008
Other urban in Lebanon	9	0.48	
Village	101	5.43	.005
Foreign	49	2.64	.004
No answer	146	7.85	

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